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(12) Occupied by distant cousin of (1), his wives and children	Alhaki.
(13) Occupied by brother of (3), his wives, children, and brother	Sabo.
(14) The *Oburai* shrine	
(15) Occupied by distant cousin of (1)	Mugu.
(16) Occupied by distant cousin of (1) and children, son, and son's child	Aje.
(17) Occupied by brother of (16), wives and children	Baita.

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B

(1) Occupied by Banhot (head of the kindred) wife and child	Banhot.
(2) Occupied by distant cousin of (1), wives, children, and cousin	Kaza.
(3) Occupied by member of Nje sub-clan, wives, children, son's wives, and children	Go.
(4) Occupied by distant cousin of (1), wife, children, and sons wives, and children	Angulu.
(5) Occupied by member of Kagoro tribe, wife, and sons	Agwanjon.
(6) Occupied by distant cousin of (1), wives, children, and son	Sambo.
(7) Occupied by distant relative of (1), wife, brother, sisters, their husbands and children	Yakok.
(8) Occupied by distant relative of (1), wife, child, and son	Agwanjon.
(9) Occupied by a member of the Awai sub-clan of Aswen and his children	Sambo.
(10) Occupied by a Kpaisa man (Agbat clan)	Alhaki.
(11) Occupied by a man of the Morwa tribe and his wife and children	Atokan.
(12) Occupied by *Oburai* shrine	

The Household.—The size and composition of the Katab household varies according to circumstances. In its simplest form it consists of the small social group of parents and children, such as in England we should describe as a family. It comes into existence when a son marries, leaves his father's compound, farms on his own account and acquires a family of young children. But as sons may not leave their parents' compound unless the father has other sons to look after him, the normal Katab compound consists of a larger group, viz. parents, sons, and daughters, and sons' wives and their children. On the death of the head of the compound two sons may agree to continue to live and farm together, and the household would then consist of a man and his mother, his wives and children, his brother, and his brother's wives and children. Owing, however, to the extensive system of adoption practised by the Katab, the composition of the household may be more complex and include paternal cousins or nephews. The household is then a purely unilateral grouping, i.e. it consists of patrilineal relatives. But there are exceptions; for it is not uncommon for a household to include a sister's son who belongs, of course, to a different clan, and is debarred

592 591 592 [597] [428]

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592 428 from any share in the inheritance should the head of the household die.

597 171 *Adoption.*—A word may be said here about the custom of adoption. In some parts of the world, e.g. the Banks Islands, parents seem to have hardly more right to their children than anybody else. The relationship between parent and child, which we are apt to regard as fundamental in human nature, is not, apparently, so regarded by all other peoples in the world. Katab women, for example, in contracting sub-marriages abandon their weaned children. In Polynesia children may pass into the hands of total strangers whether the parents like it or not; and whether the practice is due to an original state of communism or to some early custom of infanticide or some other social cause need not concern us. In Nigeria it is common among the majority of the tribes for parents to hand over one at least of their offspring to others. A Hausa father, for example, generally delivers up his first-born to his wife's family: a Bade his first child, if a female, to his wife's family, if a male to the father's brother; a Nupe his first child, male or female, to the paternal relatives. A Hausa will even hand over one of his children to a friend who may be no relative at all. Among the Katab it is customary to hand over children to a respected paternal relative who has fewer children than the other or who requires an additional worker on his farm. Male children are not handed over to a maternal relative in this way; but we shall see later that a man has to ransom his second child by a money payment to his wife's parents. Female children are, however, sometimes handed over to the mother's parents; but when such children marry, the mother's parents are not entitled to receive the bride-price.

597 A few instances of random cases actually investigated will illustrate the extent to which adoption is practised.

A. had a family of five sons and three daughters. He gave none of his children to any relatives, as all his relatives had children of their own. None of his relatives gave him any of their children, as he had a sufficient number of children of his own.

B. had a family of five sons and four daughters. As a compliment to his elder brother he handed over his eldest daughter at the age of three. She was given in marriage by the elder brother, and as she has since had four husbands, the elder brother has

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derived considerable benefit, the bride-price in each case having been appropriated by him. B. also handed over one of his sons to his elder brother, as the elder brother had only one son of his own to look after him, and that son was unable by his own farming efforts to provide for the whole household. B. also gave a son to his younger brother who lived in the same compound as B. That younger brother was murdered, and the son has reverted to the custody of his father. B. has, therefore, handed over three of his nine children to relatives. Moreover, he handed over one of his younger brother's orphan children to the care of his (B's) grown-up grandson.

C. had a family of six daughters and two sons. He handed over his eldest daughter to his male ortho-cousin, her economic services being thus placed at the disposal of the cousin's wives. The cousin will arrange the girl's marriage, receive the bride-price, provide the wedding outfit, and again receive the bride-price on each occasion that she remarries. His second daughter was similarly handed over to another ortho-cousin. Both these cousins occupied a separate portion of C's compound. The other children are with C. who has yet another cousin living with him. C. does no farming work himself, and his two eldest boys, therefore, work daily under the direction of this cousin. It is *infra dignitatem* for the head of a large compound to engage personally in agriculture; and this brings us to the subject of the control of the economic resources of the household.

A. may have been 37 years of age—he was certainly not over 40. But having been successful in life, i.e. having a large number of children (which implies capital and the ability to purchase wives), he does no farm work. He relies on his sons whose energies he directs, offering advice as to the extent of the farm required each year, but avoiding all direct interference as regards the disposal of the corn harvested. That is to say, he would never enter his son's granary and help himself to corn. He possesses no granary of his own. One of the sons issues each day the amount of corn required for the whole compound. A. will find for himself the amount of the tax required by the Administration. His sons can find their own from the sale of corn, though A. might say "Do not touch the corn—we may require it all. I will see what I can do on my own initiative".

B. similarly does no farm work. He has two sons who farm

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582 same way that the Aku and Shokwa sections of the Katab tribe
614 are blamed by the other sections of the Katab for not conforming to the general practice. It will be seen that the system among the Morwa corresponds more or less to that of the Kagoro. It differs from that of the Katab in that among the Katab the wife-stealing grouping is usually smaller than the clan grouping, whereas among the Morwa the wife-stealing grouping is usually larger than the clan grouping.

583 The wife-stealing customs of the Morwa do not seem to
586 have been interfered with by the Administration. A form of bride-price is paid by the abductor to the father of the woman with whom he elopes. The Morwa do not want any change made in their custom, such as the formal dissolution of the primary marriage by a refund of the bride-price. A husband who loses his wife by elopement hopes that she will one day return to him. The practice, they say, is suitable for both husbands and wives. It gives each the opportunity of finding the partner who suits him or her best. A Morwa seldom demands the return of his bride-price. He might ask for the return of the bride-price paid for a woman who proved unsatisfactory within a year of marriage, but even in these circumstances the bride-price would be lessened by a sum reckoned as compensation for the house-work performed, an interesting sidelight on the Morwa conception of marriage. Children belong to the actual father.

583 Girls are given in marriage twice a year, when the first rains
587 come and at the ripening of the millet, a fertility custom. A form of capture is practised with the connivance of the girl's parents
428 and relatives. During the capture female relatives make a show of beating off the captors. Both the senior and junior levirate are practised, and sons may inherit their fathers' widows. This latter practice appears, however, to be dying out. Nor do the Morwa any longer inherit the widows of grandparents.

604 As regards authority in the mother's family the Morwa have similar customs to the Kagoro. Boys are careful to avoid incurring the displeasure of a maternal uncle, whose curse would be regarded
[431] with the greatest fear. Husbands are accustomed to giving a formal present of a *kantu* of salt to the wife's parents when she bears a second child. This is analogous to the redemptive fee
604 payable among neighbouring tribes. It is customary among
● 597 the Morwa, as among their neighbours, for a man to hand over

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one or more of his sons to a brother or half-brother who has no children of his own. This is considered a duty, and it is said to be good for the boy as he will be more strictly brought up by his paternal uncle than by his own father. In such cases the paternal uncle arranges the boy's marriage, and the boy is expected to look after his paternal uncle in his old age. His father has no further control over him. Occasionally a Morwa will send a son temporarily to his wife's family. But it is not the custom (as occasionally among the Hausa) to hand over a son to a friend who is not a close relative.

Clan emblems appear to be non-existent except among the Agbat, who respect the python. No one will eat leopard's flesh unless in conjunction with a protective medicine of pumpkin leaves. It is interesting to note that the skins of leopards have to be handed over to the Chawai chiefs, an indication that the Morwa are intruders into Chawai country.

The Morwa culture resembles that of the Katab. They wear the "tail" described in the Katab report, and it might have been added there that, according to Driberg, the Lango of Uganda formerly wore "a broad leathern tail covering both buttocks and studded with pieces of metal". Incidentally the same author records that unmarried girls among the Lango (and apparently also among the Bari) wear aprons of small metal chains. The Ganawuri, who are the immediate neighbours of the Morwa, have also this custom which appears to be unique in Nigeria.[1]

Religion.—As already stated the principal priestly family lives at Kisagwai near Manchok. The cult is principally animistic. A feast of All Souls is held annually, and twice a year (in October and March) the ghosts of the dead are heard crying in the sacred grove, a sign that the time has come when the rites should be performed. A bull-roarer is used to simulate the cries of the spirits, a custom which links the Morwa with the Semi-Bantu speaking groups. In the grove there is a sacred spring, and there the priest makes his offerings of beer, calling on the departed spirits to be patient and refrain from destroying the town. The lintel of the door of the priest's house at Kisagwai is decorated with a black cross. There is the same rule among the Morwa as among the Kagoro, that no one may enter a priest's hut or

[1] But it is found among the Tur of the British Cameroons.

but subsequently spends three or four months " in her own home " (presumably her paternal compound? In societies where secondary marriage is common, a special connection with the mother, wherever she may reside, is usual, however).

According to Meek, co-wives of the father's mother attend the birth. The umbilical cord is severed with a razor, and was formerly planted with a seed yam which, when mature, was fed to the child: current practice is not stated. The placenta is casually buried " at the back of the house "; no beliefs are attached to it, according to Meek, but his diagram of a Katab compound shows that the mother's " bean-garden " lies at the back of her house. It was stated in 1921 that boys are circumcised at birth, but Meek does not mention circumcision.

Naming, usually a more or less casual matter, is performed two days after birth. If the mother has lost a number of children, the *elenowum* (presumably of the father's lineage) may at this time preside over ceremonial beer-drinking with prayers. Every child's uvula is clipped on the naming day.

According to Meek, the first child is taken when two months old to the home of the wife's parents who, after an interval of a month, summon the husband and hold a feast. " Prayers are offered for the child's welfare by the wife's father or brother, who then delivers him back to the husband, saying, ' Take this child in full payment of the labour which you [when a suitor] expended on my farm.' The second child has to be redeemed, at the present day, by a money payment of seven shillings, which is regarded as compensation to the wife's parents for expenditure incurred on her . . . trousseau. If the payments were not made the wife's parents could retain the child. . ." Meek does not indicate how the time of this ceremonial fits in with the return of the wife to her parents' compound for a period of months, as already described.

During the period of lactation it is common practice for a mother to cover her entire body and head with red ochre, to improve her supply of milk. Until the child is weaned, intercourse between mother and father is prohibited, this period lasting up to three years. Boys sleep in their mother's hut till they are five years of age, girls until they marry.

Meek writes of " adoption " among the Katab, which might be described more accurately as " sharing " or " lending " children, " to a respected paternal relative who has fewer children . . . or requires an additional worker on his farm. Male children are not handed over to a maternal relative in this way, but . . . a man has to ransom his second child [of whichever sex] by a money payment to his wife's parents. Female children are, however, sometimes handed over to the mother's parents; but when such children marry, the mother's parents are not entitled to receive the bride-price."

Initiation

There appears to be no record of circumcision among Katab proper. Tribal initiation, according to Meek, takes the form of initiation into the public cult of *obwai*,[24] associated apparently with the private ancestral cult, but there are no elaborate initiation rites. Children, presumably boys only, of four to eight years are taken to the *obwai* hut, warned to be obedient to their parents and given food. The short ceremony ends with a form of baptism in a stream, the smearing of the boys' heads with mahogany oil, and a feast in the village. Though it is not made clear, this initiation no doubt occurs at the appearance of the *obwai*. It appears that no personal insignia are issued to the individual, at this time, at least (contrast Kaje, p. 112 below).

Boys receive their facial markings later, " some years after they have begun to engage in agricultural work." Girls receive their markings in connection with their primary marriage (see below), probably at much the same age as boys, since girls marry very young. Marking is apparently done individually and without particular rites or ceremonies.

[24] See below, p. 79.